

A Time Line of the Evolution of School Bullying in Differing Social Contexts

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The aim of this present study is to expand our general understanding of bullying behaviour and to advance our knowledge about bullying among pupils. As evidenced by historical documents, the phenomenon of bullying is not a new concept. The fact that some people are frequently and systematically harassed or attacked by others is described in literary works and it also has been found most realistically in schools. Overall, considerable examples of bullying incidents among young people in earlier times have been found out through this study. In earlier times, according to descriptions in old documents from the 18th to early 20th centuries, bullying was generally described as physical harassment that usually related to a death, strong isolation, or extortion in school children. However, in contrast to the forms of bullying in earlier times, and the first descriptions of bullying as one or a few physically strong boys directly and harshly treating weaker ones, bullying in modern contexts includes more psychological and verbal threatening as well. Moreover, the meaning and forms of bullying has been expanded and developed as including mean gestures and facial expression, gossiping, and spreading rumours.

Key words: bullying, social contexts, aggressive behaviours, school violence

Introduction

This is a review of the history and current state of research on bullying. The documents on bullying from the middle of the 1800s to current time were reviewed.

Bullying is not a contemporary problem, but has always been a part of life. The first significant journal article which addressed bullying among young people was written by Burk (1897), but since then there was a long gap before the issue was taken up again. The question of bullying was considered in Scandinavia in the 1970s (e.g. Pikas, 1972; Olweus, 1978). Since the late 1970s, studies on bullying have developed with diverse approaches and have been considered in different social contexts (Whitney & Smith, 1993, Rigby, 1996; O'Moore & Hillery, 1987; Morita, 1985, Olweus, 1993).

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These substantial works are typically reflected in the different definitions of bullying and are adapted by other nations where pre-existing theories on bullying have not yet been established. Furthermore, methods of investigating bullying (e.g. self-reports and peer nominations of victimisation), in particular the questionnaire developed by Olweus (1978, 1993), have been widely acknowledged and used in many countries.

While not denying the validity of Owleus's questionnaire for investigating bullying, we must ask how the popular questionnaire and the definition that was used for the questionnaire can explore the unique features of bullying phenomena in different cultures. We should also consider that whether or not bullying has manifested itself in the same form and/or definition in a given nation over a period of time. If not, we should question how it has changed and evolved. These are very important issues since the final goal of studying bullying is to reduce its incidence and to prevent further potential problems (e.g. subsequent delinquency). Thus, there must be a significant amount of accumulated information which can reflect how the behaviour has been developed since earlier times. Studying the forms and

definition of bullying in earlier times is important for understanding the current problem. This is because according to one's character, family background, community, and times bullying could be subjectively perceived. While in some place and time it may be considered as a normal part of personal relationships, in others it may be treated as a crime, depending on the social context and time period. Studying the history of bullying will become easier to understand current problems, which could be helpful in further prevention of bullying.

The aim of this present study is to expand our general understanding of bullying behaviour and to advance our knowledge about bullying among pupils. Therefore, this study reviews the concept of bullying and proposes to study how the same behaviour has been defined in earlier times and how it is defined in different social contexts. This study is divided into 2 spheres. The first is the history of bullying, seeing how it has been addressed and what forms it takes. The second focuses on bullying in modern times since the first systematic study in 1978.

In this study I use a number of terms such as aggression, violence, and bullying. Although these terms are related to each other, each has somewhat different meanings. Therefore, before starting to review the nature of bullying, I will briefly review these terms.

Defining bullying and related terms

Baron (1977) defines aggressive behaviour as behaviour that is directed towards the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment. Bandura (1973) states it is something that results in personal injury or destruction of property. Carlson, M., Marcus-Newhall A., & Miller, N. (1989) argue that aggressive behaviour is simply the intent to harm. Aggression can be considered as an umbrella term for unacceptable behaviours and, in fact, bullying and school violence are usually considered as subset forms of aggressive behaviours (Roland & Idsoe, 2001, Smith, P.K., Cowie, H., Olafsson, R., & Liefoghe, A. P. D., 2002). Although there is a requirement for a better operational definition of aggression, there is general agreement that aggression is probably intended harm to others. However, it does not necessarily mean that the harmful behaviour occurs between two unequally powerful people, or that it happens repeatedly.

Regarding violence, there are a number of definitions of this term. I will cite three of them that illustrate the range of definitions available. First, Olweus (1999) defines violence as aggressive behaviour where the actor or perpetrator uses his or her own body or an object (including a weapon) to inflict (relatively serious) injury or discomfort upon another

individuals. Second, the World Health Organisation (www.who.int/mediacentre/definitions/violence) defines violence as the intentional use of physical and psychological force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood or resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation. Third, the Encarta dictionary (1999) defines violence in two statements: the use of physical force to injure somebody or damage something; the illegal use of unjustified force, or the effect created by the threat of this. Among the definitions, two shared features can be noticed. First, violence is harmful or damaging, or at least threatens such harm or damage. Second, violence is intended and, therefore, accidental damage or hurt done by someone is not usually thought of as violent. Nevertheless, there are differences as well. For example, two of the definitions suggest that violence should be physical, but this is far from being universally agreed.

However, bullying is also a subset of aggressive behaviour. Like violence it involves intentional harm to others. The following definitions are common in the literature on bullying: "A person is being bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other students" (Olweus, 1993, p. 9). Farrington (1993) states that "bullying is repeated oppression of a less powerful person, physical or psychological, by a more powerful person". Smith and Sharp (1994) defines it as "the systematic abuse of power". More recently Rigby (2002) states that bullying involves a desire to hurt another, a harmful action, a power imbalance, repetition, an unjust use of power, evident enjoyment by the aggressor and generally a sense of being oppressed on the part of the victim. While definitions of bullying often differ semantically, most or all of them not only agree that bullying is a subtype of aggression (Dodge, 1991; Olweus, 1993; Smith & Thomson, 1991), but also stipulate that it involves repetition, and imbalance of power. It is also widely accepted that bullying is not limited to physical actions. In addition, among aggressive behaviours in schools, bullying is a particularly serious and difficult problem. By definition, it is difficult for victims to cope on their own and teachers and other adults often know little about it.

There is also an issue of distinguishing the nature of bullying and mobbing. Bullying is a well-known concept in English. Mobbing describes the collective behaviour of harassing a victim. Understanding mobbing is useful to grasp the meaning of bullying since mobbing could be a subset of bullying, and early Scandinavian research on bullying used the word mobbing to describe the behaviour pattern (e.g. Heinemann, 1972; Lorenz, 1966). Lindzey (1954) considers that the individuals of the mob share such a large degree of similarity in feelings, thoughts, and behaviour that it is

possible to speak of a common reaction. As the definitions emphasise, a mob usually is composed of a relatively large group of people joining in some kind of common performance. Regarding the differentiation between bullying and mobbing, Pikas (1989) clarifies that the meaning of bullying may cover both type of relationships: a single bully attacking an individual or group; or a gang of bullies attacking an individual or group. Mobbing only designates the latter relationship. Moreover, according to Olweus (1978), as a rule, the mobs have not been formed for an intentional purpose and are not tightly organised. Olweus also argued that the members of the mob function side by side rather than face to face, and their identification with the group seldom lasts long. Bullying thus has a broader meaning compared to mobbing, and it is different from mobbing, especially in the number of assaulters. Mobbing happens to someone who is somewhat different from the major group and it could be considered as part of human nature in rejecting someone different from the majority. Although for victims of bullying, external characteristics could be a part of the reasons for being bullied, there could be many other reasons as well (e.g. personality).

Historical Concepts of Bullying

Although systematic research on bullying before the 1970s was relatively rare, some features of bullying could be discerned. A pattern of bullying in people has been described in books on social history and old newspapers from the 18th and 19th centuries in some countries such as the U.K., Japan and Korea. According to these documents, in earlier times, bullying occurred in reaction to different features of victims and bullying usually took the forms of isolation and physical harassment.

Bullying and its history in the UK

In general, in the 19th century, although the term bullying was not mentioned, the pattern of it has been described as interpersonal violence in everyday life (e.g. D'cruze, 2000). This violent behaviour was seen as private, in the sense that it was first and foremost a matter between individuals. According to Swift (1997), this kind of everyday violence was well documented in the 19th century. Swift pointed out that Irish people were the victims of racist violence targeted against individuals and located in urban and often the neighbourhood space in the country concerned. This is in line with Heinemann (1972) who pointed out victims'

external characteristics (such as being an immigrant and using a dialect) as reasons for being bullied. Defining these situations as everyday violence or interpersonal violence does not imply that this violence was insignificant. Rather than trivialising these experiences, the everyday or interpersonal is a useful way of understanding the dysfunctional interaction between people known to each other but who are operating at a different power level. There is a good example of introducing bullying and discussing the term in early Victorian times. *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, first published in 1857, contains famous examples of bullying in school: '*Very well then, let's roast him cried Flashman, and catches hold of Tom by the collar: one or two boys hesitate, but the rest join in*'. (Hughes, 1913, p. 188).

The preface to the sixth edition of the book includes a letter from a friend of the author's which clearly and passionately elucidates the harm it can do. This extract from *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and the popularity of the book indicates that school bullying was a well-recognised circumstance in Victorian England even if it was not officially reported. There are not many other examples of bullying in popular books at that time, and it is difficult to guess how much bullying occurred in schools throughout the intervening decades, since factual knowledge was not available until systematic research began in the 1980s.

However, alarming and significant incidents of bullying, using the exact term bullying, were described among school children or children in institutions, particularly those where boys predominated that was introduced in daily news papers such as *The Times*. *The Times* introduced the first bullying incident on the 6th of August 1862, after the death of a soldier named Flood. The serious problem of bullying and its consequences warranted official mention and this was the first published announcement on bullying in *The Times* for the period covered since 1790. The news writer defined bullying as follows:

"The bullying propensities of human nature have, generally speaking, these remarkable characteristics that they are not wandering, volatile, fluttering, oscillating, unsteady appetites, hopping about and changing from one subject to another, but that they settle upon some one object and stick close and faithfully and perseveringly to it. They are about the most unchangeable thing that this fickle world possesses." (The Times, 6th Aug. 1862, p.8, col. f)

According to the writer, even at that time, bullying was considered as a part of human nature manifested in a school or a camp, or a barracks, or a ship's crew. Moreover, the writer especially mentioned systematic bullying in the army and,

according to him, the soldier died as a result of bullying.

"It is clear from the evidence that this unfortunate man, dreadfully as he retaliated upon his tormentors, was the victim of long, malignant, and systematic bullying". (The Times, 6th Aug. 1862, p.8, col. f)

As the sentence indicates, there are elements of bullying in the events. First of all, the victim had retaliated against the bully who was one of the officers and was singled out for a long time by the rest as an object of constant vexations and attack.

Moreover, around this time bullying was construed as a misadventure of young schoolboys especially in boarding schools, which was carried out by senior pupils and teachers. The death of a boy in the King's School in Cambridge is a good example of this kind of bullying. Significant attention in the U.K was given to an incident where a twelve-year old boy in the King's School died from bullying behaviour by an older group in 1885. After the death of the boy, a former student of the King's School wrote a letter to the editor of *The Times* on the 27th of April 1885, reporting on the tragic incident in the school and ignorance of the teachers about the phenomenon and how a few physically stronger boys bullied peer group members and senior groups as a replacement of harsh punishment by teachers as follows:

"Bullying of the kind mentioned constantly occurred during the seven years I was at the school, and in no case can I remember a porter interfering - indeed, I doubt whether old Tomas knew that that was considered part of his duty..."
"...as for the masters, they naturally spent the short break in the middle of the day in getting their own luncheon." "In my time a favourite habit of some of the elder boys was to link arms and rush down the long corridor at the top of their speed, and woe betide any unfortunate youngster..." (The Times, 27th Apr. 1885, p.7, col. e)

The accident, that caused the death of a 12-year-old boy, prompted people to write letters to the council in order to investigate the death. Inspectors of the council examined the death and saw bullying as a misadventure. There was no punishment given to the boys involved. People from the council also announced that this behaviour could be a normal part of a boy's school life. It can be assumed that at that time the meaning of bullying was presented as an acceptable behaviour among young male people.

Bullying and its history in Japan

In general, how people conceptualise a phenomenon is strongly related to the culture and traditional thinking of a

nation. Hence, the meaning of the concept for the public could also be different. Japan is perhaps the only nation in Asia where the problem of bullying (*ijime*) has been studied well, at least until very recently. *Ijime* became one of the biggest social problems featured in the Japanese mass media in the mid 1980s. Whilst it had previously existed in Japan, specialists perceived it as mainly a modern phenomenon during the 1970s.

From published research papers, we can see that there is a distinct difference between *ijime* and *bullying*. Whereas, in English speaking countries, bullies are often older children (Whitney & Smith, 1993), by contrast in Japan, victims and aggressors are often classmates, or if not mostly in the same grade (Morita et al., 1999). Moreover, *ijime* often takes a form of psychological (e.g. group isolation) rather than physical harm or injury (Kanetsuna & Smith, 2002). Morita et al. (1999) explains this as due to the fact that the most common form of *ijime* is ostracism that generally takes place between members of the same classroom or extra-curricular activities in sports or arts. The reasons for this can be specified more by reviewing old social documents in Japan.

Ijime could be seen even in Edo period, from 1603-1866 but it happened in the context of family rather than school or other social contexts. According to Sakai (1985), *ijime* was viewed as both playing among young men and a way of treating children by parents. The old documents do not mention the word *ijime*, however, it is not difficult to see the pattern of *ijime* in them. If we observe the context of the Japanese family at that time, the most commonly used parental punishment techniques in Japan were: isolation of a child for a short period of time, separation from the family, and threatening a child with abandonment (Hendry, 1996). The parents believed that, through such behaviour, young men could learn how to survive and would stick together before telling their parents (Hendry, 1996). This kind of mental attitude is still retained in Japanese children. Lewis (1989) observes that even pre-school Japanese children themselves frequently carried out the roles of cautioning children about unsafe behaviour and managing aggression between classmates.

Moreover, a pattern of school *Ijime* was also initially described in this period. In 1608 the O-Yomei school had been established in Japan for members of the royal family. The school's punishment policy clearly described the pattern of *ijime* as teachers ignored a pupil and ordered that other group members could not talk to the boy, thereby making the pupil feel ashamed and lonely (Sansom, 1981). In addition, this still persists in the modern Japanese school environment. According to Hendry (1996) in her work '*Becoming*

Japanese', teachers in Japan encourage children to ostracise other children by pointing them out as being *Okashii* (strange and peculiar), in order to help create a norm of conformity: the children are quick to ignore the strange child who has yet to achieve acceptance that is defined by a submission of oneself to the group. In this case one can see the origin of the bullying pattern in Japan. For example, *ijime* takes the form of psychological rather than physical punishment. However, psychological bullying may incorporate physical and verbal isolation in the modern form of bullying in Japan (Morita & Ohsako, 1997)

Bullying and its history in Korea

Korea has a very similar culture to Japan, but also a very distinctive social background from that of Japan. Unlike documents in Japan, there are not many cases aimed at understanding bullying in Korea. However, there are a few reports in old Korean documents regarding bullying problems. The cases of bullying introduced in old Korean documents are briefly reviewed here.

It is only for the last 7 to 8 years that researches have systematically been made on Korean bullying. However, it is not difficult to see the nature and forms of bullying through Korean history. The first document on Korean bullying could be seen in Chosun dynasty (1392-1910), where it is called *Myunsinrae*. The nature and forms of *Myunsinrae* were well described in 'the Story of Chosun Dynasty' and because of its severity King Jungjong (2nd King of Chosun dynasty, 1357-419) and King Sookjong (19th King of Chosun dynasty, 1660-1720) gave orders to prohibit *Myunsinrae* (Yang, 2000).

Myunsinrae was officially a kind of a welcome event for new officers by the senior officers but, in fact, it involved misconduct by the senior officers. Engaging in *Myunsinrae* was a secret between new and senior officers and it usually lasted for the first week or two weeks. However, there was a suicide by Chung Yoon-Hwa in the 1st year of King Danjong (the 6th King of Chosun Dynasty). Officer Chung endured *Myunsinrae* by his older officers and colleagues for more than one year since the first day of his entry. By order of King Danjong, the suicide was investigated. According to the results, officer Chung did not have anybody to talk to, and was being isolated by other officers. His senior officer did not invite him to official events and because of that absence Chung had often been punished. Additionally, the investigators found that some other new officers had endured *Myunsinrae* for a long time from colleagues and senior officers.

Although *Myunsinrae* had happened only between new and senior officers, when the nature of it is looked at, forms of bullying could be clearly discerned. First of all, for some new officers who did not do what they were asked to do, *Myunsinrae* took place persistently over a long time with the intention of harming the victim. Secondly, there was a power imbalance between assaulters and victims. Regarding the forms, there was physical harassment such as painting victims' face with dirt, hitting with sticks, and playing horse on victims' back, making victims pass through between one's legs, and making victims do funny gestures. Moreover, the victims were continuously asked to pay for assaulters' drinks and often the victims were directly insulted in front of other officers, were ignored, and were not informed about important information for carrying out their duties. The most often used form of *Myunsinrae* was 'playing invisible coat' in which assaulters considered victims as someone who did not exist. The assaulters often hit and kicked victims and said 'Whoops, there was something on my way but I could not see it.'

It seems that the bullying as evidenced in old Korean documents took more direct forms compared to that in Japan. In most cases, assaulters in old Korean accounts of *Myunsinrae* tried to make victims feel shame by physical and psychological insults. This is because feeling shame was considered as equivalent to death among the better off in the social pyramid (Yang, 2000). Feeling shame is dishonourable not only for the person but also for the whole family and fitting in with others used to be considered as the most important part of life in traditional Korean society. Hence, making others not fit in and feel shame were the most severe ways of causing harm to someone, especially to those better off sections of society.

New awareness of Violent Behaviour

Even though the systematic study of bullying is comparatively recent, the amount of work on it has increased very significantly since the end of the 1970s. Moreover, general concern about violent behaviour becomes more noticeable in the 1970s. Radzinowicz and King (1977) state that "we are much more sensitive to violence than were our less civilised ancestors" (p. 10). This leads us to wonder why people have suddenly become interested in bullying, which was considered for centuries merely to be a part of human life. The Second World War (WWII) could be considered as a factor, as it has significantly altered and affected our awareness of basic human rights and the dignity of life. This

includes the notion that citizens have a right to be safe from the threat of violence as “*everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person*” (UN, 1948, article 3). Moreover, after WWII other aspects of human rights have also significantly increased e.g. feminism and anti-racism.

At this point, one could argue that there were wars prior to WWII and that these wars did not so appreciably alter people’s perceptions about aggression. However, the general impact of war is visible in historical documents. For example, it is noted that the Napoleonic war influenced the discipline system in Britain (Stewart & McCann, 1967). During WWII, the development of the popular press may have given people a greater awareness, perhaps greater than that which followed the First World War (WWI). It is possible that the public grew to realise that anyone could be the object of violence. Moreover, in 1948 and 1949, the United Nations (UN) declared the right of equality, the right to life, liberty, and security which heightened people’s awareness of their rights.

Since the end of the 1960s, the world has recovered from the overt effects of WWII and has reflected on the results of violence. People, who were children during WWII, may, as adults, have become more sensitive to violence and aggressive behaviour and, thus, have realised that anyone can be the target of hatred and violence (Geen & Donnerstein, 1983). Therefore, individual citizens who are in fact the actual or potential victims of violence have begun to demand that the problem be controlled. These changing perceptions of the inter-relationship of human rights and violence may elicit the notion that bullying is to be considered as serious, violent behaviour.

Changes and Developmental forms of bullying in modern society

In earlier times, bullying was seen as a more clearly specified and simple set of behaviours than at present. According to descriptions in old documents from the 18th to early 20th centuries, bullying was generally described as physical (or verbal) harassment that usually related to a death, strong isolation, or extortion in school children. Bullying was largely seen as misbehaviour in direct physical aggression and verbal taunting until around 1950.

According to Morgan (1952), in the early 1950s, studies of children’s misbehaviour viewed aggressive behaviour among children as involving mainly robbery and stealing. Morgan pointed out that the two most serious of children’s misbehaviours were stealing and rowdyism. Going into the 1960s, the perception of children’s misbehaviours becomes

more complicated, especially in terms of defining what is ‘misbehaviour’. For example, persistent inattention, carelessness, underhandedness and smoking occupied the major part of Greenberg’s (1969) list of student misbehaviours, which was a representative work of its kind in the 1960s.

Since the middle of the 1970s, children’s misbehaviour has increasingly included bullying behaviour. Although there are some papers studying bullying before the mid 1970s (notably Burk in 1897), the first systematic and carefully documented research on bullying (with a large database) was carried out by Dan Olweus. He invented the first systematic method of studying bullying, using a ‘self-report questionnaire’ (Olweus, 1978). Since then, a number of researchers from different disciplines, such as education, psychology, sociology and criminology, have expanded the study of bullying. In his first work, Olweus studied overt behaviour among school children and described bullying as physical harm, but facial expressions and other forms of indirect bullying were not mentioned in the description of bullying behaviour and only more direct and harmful behaviour used to be considered as bullying. However, in contrast to the forms of bullying in earlier times, and the first descriptions of bullying as one or a few physically strong boys directly and harshly treating weaker ones, bullying in modern contexts includes more psychological and verbal threats as well.

Since the end of the 1980s, the meaning of bullying has been expanded and now includes direct verbal taunting and social exclusion. For example, Bjorkqvist, K., Lagerspetz, K.M.J., & Kaukiainen, A. (1992) expanded the meaning of bullying and included indirect forms of bullying (e.g. rumour spreading). Moreover, Olweus (1999) now includes more indirect ways of bullying such as unkind gestures and facial expressions. Researchers such as Smith and Rigby have included forms of indirect bullying: gossiping, unkind gestures and spreading rumours. As the above shows, the meaning and form of what is considered as children’s misbehaviour and especially bullying has changed over the last half-century and it has become more psychological as well as physical. These days, many researchers have been actively involved in this topic and have put significant amounts of time and intellectual effort into defining this phenomenon and seeking solutions to it. A recent series of national reports (Smith, P. K., Morita, Y., Junger-Tas, J., Olweus, D., Catalano, R., & Slee, P., 1999) illustrate the existence of bullying in remarkably similar structural forms in many countries, the U.S., Japan, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as in the developing nations. The pattern found suggests that any school can anticipate bullying

occurring, although with varying degrees of severity (Smith & Brain, 2000).

The modern concept of bullying as 4Ps

Before considering the modern definition of bullying, it is very important to see the forms that bullying takes, the criteria for defining whether a behaviour is bullying or not, and the results of it, in order to have more clearly understandable and agreed upon definitions from different points of views. As Pikas argues (1989), it is not simply a matter of academic interest, for it leads to quite different treatment opinions. Therefore, the three components of bullying (form, criteria, and result) could be important factors in defining bullying.

In contrast to the forms of bullying in the UK in earlier times whereby one or a few physically strong boys directly and harshly treated weaker ones, bullying in modern contexts includes more psychological and verbal threatening as well (see Smith et al., 1999). Additionally, in the earlier work, bullying among girls was not mentioned, but in these days it has been found that females specialise in psychological or indirect bullying (e.g., name calling, social exclusion) while males specialise in physical or direct bullying (e.g., Bjorkqvist et al., 1992; Besag, 1991). However, bullying has always included physical violence, threatening and teasing; extortion, stealing or destruction of possessions; ridiculing, name calling and social exclusion, even in earlier times.

In respect to the criteria for defining bullying, intention and repetition are very important for defining whether one's behaviour toward others is bullying or not. In general, a single incident is not counted as bullying and the incident must be repeatedly based on intentional harm towards others. As far as the frequency of bullying is concerned, children are typically asked to report whether bullying has occurred not at all, once or twice, sometimes (now and then), about once a week, or more often.

Although bullying takes a variety of different forms in schools, the results can be manifested in emotional, physical or behavioural difficulties (Rigby & Slee, 1993). Emotional problems include depression, feelings of helplessness, anger, hostility, fear and anxiety. In addition, sleeplessness, loss of appetite, and nausea could also result from bullying. School truancy, difficulties with concentrating in class and avoiding people also emerge as behavioural problems. Bullying can adversely affect the atmosphere of a class or even the climate of a school (Tattum & Tattum, 1992).

As this volume of investigation shows, there are a

number of plausible definitions of bullying that do not adequately reflect a universal view. Nonetheless, while school bullying is a rather subjective concept, the majority of pioneering researchers on the subject are generally in agreement on the forms, criterion and results. Bullying is usually defined (e.g. Olweus, 1999) as a subset of aggressive behaviour, characterised by repetition and an imbalance of power. The definition of Smith and Sharp (1994, p. 2) as "a systematic abuse of power" captures these two features as well as suggesting remediation. Bullying is generally thought of as being repetitive, i.e. a victim is targeted a number of times. Moreover, the victim cannot defend him-/herself easily.

Accordingly, taking into account all these views regarding bullying with all the factors related to bullying behaviour, the debate about forms, criteria, and results could generally be summarised by the 4Ps, as follows.

The first P is Power. According to Roland (1989), bullying is long-standing violence, physical or psychological, conducted by an individual or a group and directed against an individual who is not able to defend himself in the actual situation. This statement indicates the imbalance of power between bullies and victims. Victims do not usually protect themselves. The child doing the bullying is generally thought of as being stronger or perceived as stronger; at least, the victim is not (or does not feel him/herself to be) in a position to retaliate very effectively. Overall, bullying is seen as physical or verbal attack with an imbalance of physical or psychological power. The more powerful ones attack those who are perceived as powerless. These characteristics mean that bullying behaviour can be extremely distressing to the recipient, leading to a painful experience for victims.

The second P is a result of bullying which is Pain. Wolke, Woods, Stanford, and Schulz (2001) found that bullying can lead to common health problems. Williams, Chambers, Logan, and Robinson (1996) also found that 9-10 year olds who reported common health problems such as tummy aches or sleeping problems reported being victims of bullying. Moreover, stress is created not only by what actually happens but by the threat and fear of what may happen. The bully does not have to be physically present for a child to be anxious and distressed (Tattum & Herbert, 1993). It causes pain to the recipients of the aggressive behaviour. Victims may experience emotional pain, which is related to depression, helplessness, anger, and hostility. Physical pain includes that which comes from sleeplessness, loss of appetite, and feelings of nausea may follow. School truancy, difficulties with concentrating in class, becoming lonely and experiencing difficulties and avoiding people also emerge as behavioural

problems (Cullingford, 1995; Tattum & Herbert, 1993). Committing suicide is the worst case of this painful experience for victims as well as family members.

The third P is Persistence. The third P is involved in defining bullying. When we see aggressive behaviour as bullying, there is usually a continuous series of incidents between the same people over a prolonged period of time rather than a single aggressive act. In respect of this, Smith and Thompson (1991) observe that bullying is thought of as a repeated action; something that just happens once or twice would not be called bullying. Moreover Olweus (1999) states that bullying is usually defined as a subset of aggressive behaviour characterised by repetition.

The fourth P is Premeditation. This is also important in defining bullying. Some children who may have genuine difficulty in understanding the viewpoint of others and who are unable to empathise with the distress of their peers, genuinely regard their own teasing and taunting of them as just messing about. In this case, the declaration by victims of their pain is important. If it continues even after the victim has expressed his pain, the aggressive behaviour can then be seen as bullying. Smith and Thompson (1991) also state that bullying intentionally causes hurt to the recipient.

Summary

This study advances two suggestions. Firstly, over time, the meaning of what bullying includes has broadened, so as to cover indirect forms. Secondly, the attitude towards it has been changing; it used to be considered as a part of children's growing up but now is considered to be a social problem which has to be controlled. Both are very important issues because of the possible developmental forms of bullying can be predicted, more efficient prevention programmes could be provided in order to reduce the incidence of bullying. Moreover, from the findings in this study I assumed that the forms of bullying might be developed further in more impersonal ways, rather than face to face. Although it has not yet been systematically investigated to any great extent, it can be seen that some school children are being bullied by mobile text messages and/or e-mail. Therefore, researchers should again look carefully at schools, and youth culture and study new emerging and evolving forms of bullying and their possible influence.

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